631 427 [175] The founding of Tamanrasset is attributed to them; it is said to be the work of the chief of the Issenda (Issendaten) fraction, Ilachen by name. This creation goes back some sixty years, but the irrigable lands were the property of the Ajjer. In the last few years, the Imanrassatên, who were the true proprietors of the cultivable lands at Tamanrasset, came several times to claim the rental price which was one ass or a sheep per year according to the place. But this claim was only payable if the owners presented themselves; the year not claimed was gained by the renter.

[151] 631 They often found themselves in conflict with the amênokal, because they made difficulties in paying the tiousseé.

They are subdivided into Kel Aguelella or Kel Tărhaouhaout, into Kel Rapsa or Kel Ezarounfat, and into Issendaten or Kel Tăhifet.

631 173 [192] The Aït Loaien. -- The Aït Loaien get their name from the verb élouai, which means "to attach camels in Indian file." (1)

1. According to Benhazéra, Six mois chez les Touaregs du Ahaggar, p. 148.

Through their ancestor Takamat, the servant of Ti-n-Hinân, they are said to be of the same origin as the Dăg Râli and the Kel Ăhnet: At the time of the division of the Imrad, it is said they were bestowed half upon the Inemba and half upon the Tégéhé Mellet. They are subdivided into Irayen (today extinct), Kel Torha or Dăg Houa, and Aït Loaien proper.

631 [651] The Aït Loaien pay the tioussé to the family of the Téjéhé-n-ăgg-Ali, also called Kel Ahamellen (Kel Rela), and the Dăg Houa group pays it to the Tégéhé Mellet.

[578] Formerly allied to the Imekkérressen of the Ajjer group by numerous marriages, they separated from them following disputes and the murder of one of them, the Tuareg Reskou /196/ ag Yahia, famous in all the Ahaggar. Since then, the Imekkérressen have settled in the Ajjer.

177 241 marabouts from the Touat who brought with them the system of irrigation by foggara. The Tuareg later grasped the advantage they could gain from multiplying these centers, and so, at the moment of the French occupation, more than forty centers were being exploited.

423 241 The enjoyment of land appertains to the people who first cultivated it. Land of itself appertains to the amenokal, but he leases it out and in return levies an annual tax -- mesk -- on the harvest, in [427 65] the amount of four guessa of wheat, or about 10 kilograms per garden. The land may thus have as proprietors Imochar or Imrad, indeed Enaden, but Iklan may not hold gardens.

241 427 Gardens are not cultivated by their proprietors but by Negro tenant farmers, natives of the Touat or Tidikelt, who are called harratin (singular hartani). An arrangement is worked out between them and the proprietors on the following terms: the proprietor furnishes the hartani two loads of millet a year for his sustenance, [312] seeds, a hoe, and then pays for digging /245/ the wells of the foggara. Once the foggara has been dug, the hartani is responsible for keeping it up. He sows, waters, harvests, threshes the grain, and keeps one-fifth of the harvest. Furthermore, he has the right to sow on his own account in the irrigation canals and to cultivate several beds of vegetables.

[311] 312 [241] Centers of cultivation are set up on the terraces of valleys when they are wide enough and have old alluvial deposits. The feggaguir /plural of foggara -- translator/ of the Ahaggar have nothing in common with those of the Tidikelt or those in the Saoura oasis, which pipe water to the gardens from great distances, from the geological faults where it is retained. In the Ahaggar rain water collects in the wadi beds and is stored under the sand. The feggaguir are therefore dug in the wadi bed and seek water at distances varying from one to seven kilometers. The wadi presents a certain slope, and it is necessary to bring the water gradually to the same level or to a level slightly higher than that of the gardens. The feggaguir

The ass is never eaten, and its skin is not used.

The horse. -- The horse is not a Saharian animal. In 1929 there were four horses in the Ahaggar belonging to the aménokal. Today there are about twenty of them belonging to the members of his family or to the notables of his camp.

This is an expensive luxury, for these animals must be fed with barley, and there is not enough barley for the people themselves. It tends to replace the camel for the Sudanese Tuareg.

/254/ The zebu. -- A few years ago the aménokal owned a small herd of zebus which he had had sent from the Sudan. This animal is not raised in the Ahaggar proper, and it could not be, for lack of appropriate pasture.

The zebus serve in the agricultural centers by drawing water. They are furnished to the tenant farmer by the proprietor of the land, and they are very poorly fed on hardship rations of hay and grass, or else they are put in rush pastures, which are generally plentiful in the agricultural centers.

When the animal is tired, the owner exchanges him if that is at all possible. The privations which the zebus must undergo bring about their death in a relatively short span of time, and so in the Ahaggar it is a question of keeping them alive rather than raising them. In any case, they never follow the camps in their moves and never live near them.

When we talked about the camp, we told how the search for pasture directed its location.

Insofar as animal husbandry properly speaking is concerned, we observe that the small animals -- sheep, goats, and asses -- always stay in the Ahaggar and move with the camp.

As for camels, this is not the case; they are often put out to pasture far from the tents, watched only by a few shepherds. The majority are even kept in the Sudan 800 kilometers from their owners'

492 484 the pasturing place as rapidly as possible, and so they assure a strictly disciplined march for the caravan.

From this come the two systems of proceeding used respectively by the Arabs and the Tuareg.

486 643 648 /315/ Caravans which used to cross the country of the Ihaggaren were obliged to place themselves under the latter's protection by paying a toll agreed upon in advance. The duty went to the amenokal, but protection was ensured only within the bounds of his authority, which quite often did not go beyond the limits of his own tribe. And so the caravaneer was subject to continual solicitations from the people living on the land he crossed, and it was often very difficult to escape them. A guide was sometimes placed at his disposal and received remuneration in kind.

When the boundary of the territory was reached, the protection stopped there, and the greed of the Tuareg was so great [579] that they sometimes did not hesitate to go pillage outside their territory the caravan they had just protected. This often brought on conflicts from tribe to neighboring tribe, but in the final analysis everything was settled at the expense of the caravaneer.

427 492 Sometimes the Tuareg rented out their camels. Some Tassili tribes made a specialty out of transport between Ghademes and Ghat, while the Issekkemaren agreed to rent their animals between In-Salah and the Sudan. They derived considerable profits from this work.

As a result of these continual deductions in advance, the caravaneer could transport only goods whose trade was very remunerative.

484 674 Caravaneers have a custom of placing provisions needed for their return in the rocks or in sheltered places. These provisions are left without a guard, and nobody would think of taking them.

423 celed out to Haratin sharecroppers although some of them used to be worked by slaves. Since ownership of land is never outright in [427] any case, each leaseholder must pay rent in one form or another to someone or other at least once a year.

565 Vassal clans usually pay annual tribute to 651 their tribal chiefs or to the Amenokal, or both. This tribute includes such things as dates, millet, congealed melted butter, baby camels, sheep, goats and manufactured articles of various kinds, a share of all merchandise imported by the clan as well as a share of the profits from any caravan commerce they may have, and about half of any booty they may capture in independent raids. Each vassal family used to contribute towards the upkeep of a particular noble family, and the nobles in their turn, men and women alike, were constantly begging from their vassals who could hardly afford to refuse them. But if this begging became unbearable, the vassals would sometimes pull up stakes and move quietly out of reach of their noble parasites.

651 Lhote (1955, pp. 190–91) says that all adult males, potential warriors that is, of the Ahaggar confederation, were supposed to pay an annual head tax of 5 francs (then worth about 4 cents) each to the Amenokal as recently as 1948. Hunters annually paid in mouflon for exclusive local hunting rights. After each harvest each Hartani would pay a third of a bushel (more or less) of grain to the Amenokal for each garden plot that he worked, in addition to a share of the produce which he paid to the local leaseholder. But much of this fiscal system has fallen into disuse in re- 651 cent years, for the Amenokal together with 178 his whole camp is now supported almost entirely by the French Government, which also contributes free grain weekly to many of the poorer Haratin. Once more it is the middle class, the vassal Tuareg and the lesser nobles in this case, who suffer most severely from the stresses of cultural change.

Tuareg Economy and the Roots of the Class 233 **System.** All Saharan nomads live primarily off 137 their livestock, and livestock lives off pasturage. There are two main kinds of pasture in the Sahara, the permanent growth of wiry yellowish grass, little woody shrubs and thorny bushes that one finds scattered very thinly

and shields; mehari saddles, saddlebags in all shapes of carved 439
and colored leather, little leather boxes, glossy blue cloth, "ilechchane," gandurahs with sleeves, black cloth ("kehal") for veils, and finally "tikamarine," or dry cheeses. In the Aïr saddles for horses are made, shaped like Mexican saddles and having round stirrups of heavy copper covered with leopard-skin (the Amenokal Moussa ag Amastane has one).

To the Aïr, and sometimes to the Damergou, they bring salt taken from the sebka of Amadr'or, "chegga bought in the Tidikelt, camels, donkeys, dates bought in the Tidikelt, "teheredjlé" (Hartemisia herbalba, Composeae), etc.

[133]

Crater of the
Ouksem Volcano

3. Adhar and Niger, from which they get bechna, rice, sheep, and camels. They bring in salt, "chegga," and dates.

4. Ghat and Ghadames, but seldom. There they buy extra fine burnooses, sabers, sugar, tea, and "chegga." They bring in camels, waterskins, camel-hair ropes, and sheep. /69/

In addition, the people of the Tidikelt, especially the Ahl-Azzi, come to buy wheat and barley on the spot, which they gather into their "ar'erems."

The Tuareg of the Ahaggar would like very much to have, 439
like the Azdjer, the protection of the big caravans which go 484
from Tripoli to Ghat, to the Aïr, and to the Sudan. Thus they 427
would hire out their camels to traders, and this would be an important source of revenue for them (the Aï-Loa'in already hire out their camels toGhat traders). They would very much like to see this current turned toward the Ahaggar, and we have the greatest interest in urging them on this course.

5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aɣouh-en-Tehele Clan.

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

Tenants	Value of Sub-Area	Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal
SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aɣouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles.	Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication.	2 donkeys
OMANA, Khalifa of the Ikenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds.	3 goats
ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan.	Hunting of barbary sheep.	2 goats
KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader.	Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	2 donkeys
DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan.	No particular value.	No land-rent.
AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section.	Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Asernan section of the Isandan sub-clan.	Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys.	1 donkey
KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aɣouh-en-Tehele clan.	Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal.	

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aɣouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Isekkemaren class. Between the Aɣouh-en-Tehele and the Isekkemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aɣouh-en-Tehele people come to the Isekkemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Isekkemaren visiting the Aɣouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

[Text continues on p. 110]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Dag Rali Clan.

(The clan is divided into two matrilineages: 1) the Dag Rali proper comprising most members of the Kel Tamanrasset and the Kel Terhananet sections, 2) the Imesiliten comprising most members of the Kel Hirhafok and the Kel Tiñhart sections.

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427
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Tenants	Name and Value of Sub-Area	Land-Rent to the Amenokal
DANGOCHI, Clan chief belonging to the Kel Tamanrasset section. Rights to this subarea is not necessarily vested in the chief.	ISEKRAM Hunting of barbary sheep. – (For every four or five barbary sheep killed one is given to the tenant).	2 goats
JERKIE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section.	TADJEMART No particular value.	2 water bags. 1 rope of goat's hair.
AMMA, of the Kel Terhananet section	ARECHCHOUM No particular value.	2 water bags. 1 rope of goat's hair.
KHABTE, of the Kel Tamanrasset section. ARKASSEN, of the Kel Terhananet section.	IN DALADJ Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys.	1 donkey
AFARAK, of the Kel Hirhafok section.	AKALARAREN Hunting of barbary sheep.	Unknown
BOUSKEAS & DEMONI, two brothers of the Kel Tiñhart section.	TAHAT Important hunting ground for barbary sheep, which are protected for three months. Domestic animals never graze in this area.	Formerly three barbary sheep (present rent unknown).
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet.	ABELESSA A very extended area comprising the village of Abelessa and many other agricultural settlements.	No land-rent as the Amenokal receives dues from crops of every garden in this area.
DANGOCHI, Clan chief representing the two sections of Kel Tamanrasset and Kel Terhananet. Land-rent is paid collectively by members of the two sections.	TAESSA Important hunting ground for barbary sheep. – Domestic animals are never allowed to graze in this subarea, and barbary sheep are protected for three months every year.	1 donkey (formerly four barbary sheep) (In this particular case an annual land-rent comprising two hides of barbary sheep (formerly two barbary sheep) is also given to Dangochi as clan chief).

5; Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar

It is stated in literature that clan territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for clan members. Lhote says that nobody has the right to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign clans without permission from their chiefs or from the Amenokal (Lhote 1955, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that clan territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a clan, and it is said that this might also happen in the past. Possibly the territory of a clan was once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but clan territories were and are divided into sub-areas the rights to which generally are vested in individual tenants. These sub-areas may be valuable grazing grounds, but most of them have an economic value in other respects also. Some are important hunting grounds for barbary sheep or for the catching of wild donkeys for domestication, others have a value for collecting wild seeds, or they have soil and water suitable for irrigation agriculture. A few areas have all these qualities. I shall briefly mention the sub-areas of the two vassal clans Agouh-en-Tehele and Dag Rali. In the lists (p. 108 f.) are indicated the tenants, the value of their sub-areas, and the annual land-rent paid to the Amenokal, who is the true master of the land inhabited by clans of his drum-group.

For the land-rent *(ehare-n-amerdal)* paid to the Amenokal the tenants obtain the following rights over their sub-areas:-

1) They can forbid grazing within their area or in part of it in order that plants may germinate and become fully developed. For plants valuable exclusively for grazing domestic animals the period of protection will be up to two months, but certain plants which have seeds valuable for collecting are protected for three months.

2) They have the right to half of all wild donkeys caught in their areas.

3) They have the right to part of all barbary sheep killed. Foucauld says that in certain hunting grounds the hide and the meat of a slain animal must be given to the tenant while the hunter can keep only the head, the paunch, and the intestines (Foucauld 1922, p. 81. – Foley 1930, p. 43f.). My own information agrees with Lhote's statement that the tenants in general have the right to the hide, the head, and half the meat (Lhote 1955, p. 284), but for certain hunting grounds there are different rules (cf. list p. 109).

4) The tenants have the right to dues from the crops of every garden, but for sub-areas of the Dag Rali clan they are now given to the Amenokal. In the Agouh-en-Tehele clan the tenants receive 10 kg per garden from a crop of wheat and barley (grown in winter), 10 kg from a crop of millet (grown in summer), and 4 kg from a crop of tomatos.

Should the rights of tenants be violated, the offenders will be fined by the Amenokal, and the indemnity belongs to him and not to the tenant. In the past there was a fixed indemnity of three goats for violation of protected pastures.